MAY 1955

DEMOCRACY ON THE DIAMOND

John Constable

RACE AND "UNITED" FUND DRIVES

Clarence Coleman

PUBLIC OPINION IN NORFOLK

FAULKNER ON SCHOOLS

MEETING THE DECISION

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New South NOTES

This issue appears one year after the Supreme Court's school decision, when the Court is expected at any time to hand down its implementing decrees. If the decrees are forthcoming before the Court's summer adjournment, *New South* will try to present them, along with appropriate analysis, in its next issue. Meanwhile, we turn in the lead article to another less solemn aspect of race relations in the South.

As befits the all-American sport, baseball is an exceedingly practical enterprise. The increasing use of Negro players on formerly all-white Southern teams must, therefore, be viewed as voluntary integration at its most business-like. Even the most rabid white supremacist will hardly accuse Southern baseball officials of being wild-eyed radicals, or even fuzzy-minded idealists. They are simply good managers who perceive that hiring the best players — whether they be white, black, purple, or green —means good baseball, and accordingly good gate receipts.

It's probably also typical of our American faculty for being illogical that sports should lead business and industry in recognizing the sound principle of employment on merit.

The other articles in this issue tie neatly into the theme of voluntary integration. **Clarence Coleman** tells of progress in Southern community chests and councils, while a survey by the Norfolk Women's Council in Interracial Cooperation sheds some encouraging light on public opinion. A letter by the noted novelist **William Faulkner** and an editorial from the **Winston-Salem Journal** make the same kind of good sense.

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DEMOCRACY ON THE DIAMOND

By JOHN CONSTABLE

JUST how American is the national pastime of baseball?

Although there have been adverse incidents in bringing about integration in the game, indications are that baseball is indeed becoming a game for all Americans. Since Jackie Robinson broke the color bar in professional baseball in 1946, the sport has become increasingly integrated both north and south of the Mason-Dixon line. The prospects of increased attendance and a new field of talent were inducements that first opened previously all-white baseball leagues to Negro players. And these two factors now are operating in favor of the Negro seeking a berth on a Southern baseball team.

The Sporting News sounds a favorable note. Today it reports, out of the 18 leagues which are located in whole or in part in the South, "it is likely that the only exceptions (to integrated leagues) are the Southern Association and one or two others."

With the loose affiliation that exists between teams in organized baseball, it was inevitable that one break in the network would affect other teams both north and south. Professional baseball (with the exception of the all-Negro

leagues) is organized into two divisions, the Major Leagues and the National Association (the minors). The American and the National Leagues, each composed of eight teams, make up the Majors. The organization is governed by an executive council headed by Commissioner Ford C. Frick. Each team also has a governing board which includes a president, secretary, manager, etc.

The National Association operates under a similar system, with George M. Trautman serving as president of the combined leagues. In the National Association, however, there are 33 leagues with teams scattered throughout the United States and including some cities in Canada, Mexico, and Cuba. Many teams in this association are affiliated with one of the Major League teams. For example, the Atlanta Crackers of the Southern Association are affiliated with the Milwaukee Braves of the National League.

The National Association also is broken down into six other divisions roughly based on the size of the city and

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John Constable recently joined the Southern Regional Council as editorial assistant. He received valuable assistance in the preparation of this article from J. G. Taylor Spink, general manager of THE SPORTING NEWS, *and Joel W. Smith, sportswriter of the* ATLANTA DAILY WORLD.

the ability and experience of players on the teams. These divisions are called triple-A, double-A, A, B, C, and D, with triple-A teams at the top and D teams with the lowest rating. Many of the National Association leagues conduct post-season series similar to the World Series. For example, champions of the Southern Association and the Texas League, both double-A leagues, square off each year in the Dixie Series. With this setup and with Major League teams playing exhibition games as they move north from spring training camps, baseball fans in the South get a chance to see players and teams from all parts of the country.

Phenomenal Success

It is little wonder then that managers of Southern teams began to consider the phenomenal success of Negro players in the American and National Leagues. In 1950, four years after Jackie Robinson entered organized baseball, Negro players had participated in three World Series. In each of these three series, Negroes had led in hitting, Robinson taking the honors in 1947 and 1949 and Larry Doby in 1948.

And so in August, 1951, the Danville Leafs of the Class B, Carolina League became the first previously all-white team below the Mason-Dixon line to sign a Negro player. The Leafs signed a young Danville Negro, Pesky Miller, Jr., for a tryout with the team.

Comment around the league was favorable to Miller. Ted Mann, president, said there was nothing in the league's constitution to ban a Negro player and "so far as this office is concerned, it's perfectly legal."

Ruby Knipe, president of the Raleigh (N. C.) Capitols, who were leading the league at the time, said, "Frankly, I'm not surprised." Knipe added that since the major leagues had been playing Negroes, "I have been thinking for a couple of years it would get down here."

Miller's debut was followed closely by other Negroes entering Southern teams on an integrated basis. Danville subsequently signed a second Negro player and Granite Falls, N. C., of the Class D, Western League signed five Negro players.

As integration on Southern teams picked up steam in 1952, there were rumbles of opposition in some Southern cities. But the total number of integrated teams continued to rise.

In May, 1952, early in the baseball season, Wendell Smith, Negro sports columnist of the Pittsburgh Courier, wrote: "The Negro ball player is no longer an outcast in the nation's most popular game. Not only has he become an (integral) factor in major leagues, but he also is playing in minor leagues all over the country, including the deep South. In fact, it is quite possible that in the future the majority of Negro players who come to the majors will have had their preliminary training in the once hostile Southland."

Southern Leagues

At that time, Dave Hoskins was on the roster of Dallas as the first Negro to play in the Texas League, and Negroes were playing with Miami Beach, Tampa, and Fort Lauderdale-Key West, all of the Florida International League. A short time later, the Texas City Texans of the Gulf Coast League signed two Negro players. Some 3,000 persons, "one of the largest crowds ever to watch a ball game" in the Texas City, turned out to see Johnny Lee Williams, rookie Negro righthander, make his pitching debut with the local team.

Earlier in 1952, an Associated Press check of the eight teams in the Southern Association on the acceptability of Negro players brought mixed comment.

Birmingham Ordinance

Officials of four teams indicated that Negroes could be taken on with a minimum of controversy. These teams included Chattanooga, Atlanta, Nashville and New Orleans. Ray Winder, secretary-treasurer of the Little Rock club, said, "I'm sure we can handle the matter when it arrives." Officials at Memphis and Mobile declined to comment. Only Birmingham produced a flat "no." Eddie Glennon, general manager at Birmingham, declined additional comment other than to point to the city ordinance against integrated sports.

The Southern, the highest classification league in the South, has yet to break the color bar, and the Birmingham ordinance generally is cited as the chief obstacle. Repeated attempts to erase the ban in the Alabama city have met with failure. In 1953, the city's mayor reportedly was readying plans to repeal the ordinance as it applied to baseball. At that time, the Birmingham Barons stood an excellent chance of winning the Southern Association playoffs. Had they done so, the Barons would have been thrown into the Dixie Series playoffs against Dallas of the Texas League, which had Negro players.

Birmingham failed to take the Southern Association championship, however, and nothing was done concerning the ordinance until January 26, 1954. Then, the Birmingham City Commission repealed its ban on interracial participation in baseball and football and stood firm for the ruling in the face of a delegation of 200 persons led by Hugh Locke, a Birmingham attorney. The Locke forces, however, forced a city vote on the question through a petition; and on June 4, Birmingham voters restored the ordinance by a vote of 16,686 to 5,890.

At least two Southern Association teams have made unsuccessful attempts to integrate. In 1954, the Atlanta Crackers signed Nate Peeples, a Negro outfielder; and Peeples played in Atlanta against the Crackers' parent club, the Milwaukee Braves. President Earl Mann commented at the time, "We are exploiting no issue. We are just trying to give Atlanta fans a good baseball team and Peeples is a candidate for one of the outfield positions." Peeples played against the Mobile Bears in the season opener in Mobile, but did not play a single inning in the Atlanta ball park after the campaign officially opened. On April 17, an *Atlanta Constitution* columnist wrote: "It is true that Southern Association pressure was put on Earl Mann to keep Nat Peeples out of the Cracker lineup." The afternoon papers of the same day announced Peeples' release to the Jacksonville Braves of the South Atlantic League.

New Orleans Pelicans

This year, the New Orleans Pelicans of the Southern Association had five Negro players on their roster including Ramon Mejias, the Cuban outfielder, and R. C. Stevens. The New Orleans team dropped the five after Jake Norwalk, general manager of the Pelicans, announced: "Mejias was the lone Negro capable of winning a berth on the local double A team. But if we can't find two Negro players of Southern Association ability, we will not have one on the team. One Negro player would be at a tremendous disadvantage. . . . We want two or more. . . ." Following the announcement, Stevens was traded to the

Hollywood Stars of the Pacific Coast League, which is one classification higher than the Southern Association. Also this year, the Nashville Vols turned down the $125,000 player, Frank Robinson, who last year hit 25 home runs for Columbia in the South Atlantic League. Robinson jumped from the South Atlantic League, which is of A classification, to the Cincinnati Reds, a Major League team.

The trend in integration continued in 1953. Following early leads in the South, the Piedmont, the Tri-States, and the South Atlantic leagues opened their teams to Negroes. Of these leagues, the South Atlantic is probably the most notable since it involves four Southern states. The two South Atlantic teams to pioneer integration were Savannah, Ga., and Jacksonville, Fla. These teams carried Negro players into the cities of Montgomery, Ala.; Columbia and Charleston, S. C., and Augusta and Macon, Ga. Del Booth of the Associated Press wrote that the major reaction to the initial appearance of Negro baseball players in Columbia "was financial." Commenting on a game between Jacksonville and Columbia in which Negroes played for Jacksonville, Booth wrote, "In fact, the financial and other reactions were so satisfactory, the Columbia team is thinking of adding a Negro outfielder to its roster sometime this season." In 1954, Columbia did.

Trautman Ruling

Hot Springs of the Cotton States League also played Negroes in 1953 but ran into trouble. Hot Springs signed two Negro brothers, Jim and Leander Tugerson in April, 1953, and was dropped from the league. George Trautman, president of the association, ordered Hot Springs readmitted. The club, however, then sent the Tugerson brothers to Knoxville of the Mountain States League.

On May 18, 1953, Hot Springs recalled Jim Tugerson and used him against Jackson on May 20. Al Haraway, president of the league, ordered the game forfeited; but Trautman set the forfeit aside. Trautman ruled that no player could be barred from organized baseball because of his color, race, or creed and said the league was "at war with the concept that the national pastime offers equal opportunity to all." Jim Tugerson, however, returned to Knoxville and was sold to Dallas in 1954.

The "Cotton Curtain"

In 1954, Hot Springs signed another Negro player; and before the season ended, several other teams broke the color bar. The victory for baseball participation purely on ability was short-lived, however, for early in May of this year, Negroes were banned from playing in the Cotton States League. The action was taken at a meeting of league directors after the Pine Bluff (Ark.) Judges signed three Negroes. Virgil Wooley, business manager of the Pine Bluff club, was quoted as saying he had been notified that the Judges would forfeit any game in which Negroes played. Wooley said he had appealed the ruling to Trautman and had been told that it was a league decision and Trautman would not overrule it.

In a letter, Judge Emmett Harty of Greenville, Miss., president of the league, wrote: "There are no color players currently listed on the rosters of teams in the Cotton States League. Last season several of the clubs signed Negro players in the hope it would help the waning attendance but the desired re-

sult was not achieved. The colored attendance increased for a few days and then declined. The white attendance declined immediately and never recovered."

Manager's Reaction

Wooley, however, in an article dated May 5—the same date Judge Harty's letter was written—indicated the club might fold unless it was allowed to use Negroes on the team to boost attendance. Wooley said the Pine Bluff club could not continue under present conditions and might give up its franchise.

Although other attempts have been made to halt the process of peaceful integration, some baseball officials who once opposed Negroes and whites on the same team have since reversed their position. In 1954, the Sandersville (Ga.) Wacos were reported in protest against three other clubs in the league which had Negroes on the rosters. Officials of the Wacos threatened to withdraw from the league unless the Negroes were dropped. When officials of the three teams held firm and continued to play Negroes, the Sandersville club relented and later in the summer signed two Negro infielders itself. Club officials later were quoted as saying the team had been playing better and attendance had increased since Negroes joined the lineup.

One of the latest teams to sign a Negro player is the Macon, Ga., club of the South Atlantic League. On April 12 of this year, five teams in the South Atlantic League were carrying thirteen Negroes on their rosters. The teams included Jacksonville, Montgomery, Charlotte, Columbia and Macon.

Newspaper and league policies make it difficult to ascertain the exact number of Negroes participating in Southern leagues, but indications are that the total is high. Many newspapers apparently follow the same policy on racial references as *The Sporting News*. Officials of the paper commented: "*The Sporting News* has opposed racial discrimination and, except where it is pertinent to the story, there is usually no mention when a player is Negro." Along the same line, Glenn E. Mann, president of the Carolina League, which first used Negro players in the South, wrote: "We have several colored players in our league, but I do not have a complete list of them. . . . The reason I do not have the list in the league office now is that we make no distinction on any of our papers as to whether a man is colored or white." As far as the Southern Regional Council can ascertain, individual team policy is similar and a Negro player enjoys the same team privileges as a white player.

Clearly the chief question as to participation in baseball should be ability; and as Negro athletes continue to prove their ability, the process of integrated baseball will spread. Working on the basis of ability, what then is the process of integrating a team? Dr. Dan W. Dodson, editor of *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, has studied the processes involved in Jackie Robinson's integration into baseball. In the October, 1954, issue of his publication, Dr. Dodson lists twelve suggested principles for use in integration. They may be paraphrased as follows:

(1) Don't rely on public opinion polls as a barometer of how the change will be accepted.

(2) Begin with a firm statement of policy and stick to it.

(3) Base acceptance of a new member of the team on factors other than

"The future of Negroes in baseball doesn't need any more special attention than the future of men of any other color. The skin of players should not have anything to do with the so-called domination of the game. This game should be dominated by players of heart and skill and good purpose. Religion has never entered into our game as a qualification, nor has nationality — and race must not either. For my part, I want an excellent team here in Pittsburgh and, if such a team would win, I would be proud of it if every player on the club was an Eskimo. In all probability the number of Negro players in the majors will approximate the population percentage in our county. The future of the American Negro in baseball will take care of itself." — Branch Rickey in *See* magazine.

those in which prejudice is involved. That is, winning the pennant was an issue in the Robinson case, not integrating baseball.

(4) Don't cancel a game or drop a member from the team as a moral compromise for others whose responsibility is that of policy making. For example, when asked to cancel a game in Florida, Branch Rickey (who was largely responsible for bringing Robinson into organized baseball) said, "I will not cancel the game and I will not leave my Negro players behind. . . . Whoever cancels the game will take the responsibility for it. I won't make their moral compromises for them."

(5) Don't be defensive. When Rickey was asked why he hired Robinson, he answered, "I don't have to answer that question. You have to answer instead, 'Why shouldn't I?' He was good enough to wear Uncle Sam's uniform. He is a qualified ball player. Why shouldn't I?"

(6) Use communnity resources. Rickey used the Mayor's Committee on Unity, the Y. M. C. A., the churches, and the Negro press.

(7) Be sensitive to good timing. Integration would have been more difficult ten years ago.

(8) Create the best climate possible in which people may relate to each other. In Robinson's case, Rickey chose him because he had already made a name for himself as a valuable player; and prior to Robinson's reporting to the Dodgers, the team had played exhibition games in Cuba and had played against the Montreal club of which Robinson was a member.

(9) Bring representatives together as peers. That is, apply the same team rules to both Negro and white players.

(10) Once integration starts, let members work out their own relationships.

(11) Assess opposition and try to meet it positively.

(12) Be prepared for oblique attacks that seek to undermine your leadership.

By CLARENCE D. COLEMAN

How "United" Are Community Fund Drives?

How united racially are "united" fund-raising campaigns for community welfare services?

In an effort to find out, the Atlanta Urban League last December queried community leaders in 100 cities with populations of 50,000 or more. The League questionnaire, dealing with Negro participation in local community chest campaigns, was completed by 52 chest officials and Urban League executives. Twenty-six of the responses came from Southern and border cities.

The Atlanta Urban League's inquiry was prompted by more than concern for a principle. Behind it lay some hard, practical considerations. As any seasoned campaigner can testify, a local fund drive partakes of the nature of a crusade. "Enthusiasm," "teamwork," and "community spirit" are the rallying cries of the campaign organization. This inspirational approach is based soundly on the recognition that the campaign workers must be thoroughly "sold" themselves in order to do an effective job with the public. But what of the "second class" member of the team —the Negro campaign worker who is relegated to a separate unit, who gets the campaign plans and inspiration at second hand through a white emissary?

Is it any wonder that the chests which follow such a practice frequently complain about the apathetic response of the Negro community?

Fortunately, the trend in the South is toward a more democratic pattern of chest activity. Most of the responses to the League's questionnaire showed a growing awareness of the principle that "all groups affected by a social welfare program should be included in the planning and direction of it."

In summary, the League reported: "An increasing number of community chests in the South have Negroes serving on their policy-making boards and committees; a dwindling number still insist upon separate Negro divisions; in a number of Southern cities Negro and white workers report and eat together

Clarence Coleman, who is Community Organization Secretary of the Atlanta Urban League, directed the survey of community chests and councils on which this article is based.

Assumption of true responsibility means the shift away from paternalism to a more democratic attitude. It means abandoning the notion that "we know best what is good for our Negroes." It means granting the same respect and consideration for the needs and aspirations of colored people as for those of other citizens. It means admitting Negroes to full and fair counsel. . . . It means allowing Negroes adequate representative on appointive bodies which make decisions affecting their welfare. — From a statement by the Southern Regional Council, September, 1948.

during their campaigns; and, in general, much optimism is expressed concerning the prospects for better relations between the races in community chest activity."

Here, question by question, is a brief summary of the League's findings for the 26 Southern and border cities:

Are Negroes represented on the board of the Community Chest?

Of the 26 cities, 18 replied that Negroes were represented on the policy-making body of the chest. Two declared that they have no racial policy one way or the other, but that no Negroes have been elected to their boards.

Are Negroes represented on the board of the Planning Council?

Twenty of the 26 cities answered yes.

Does your Community Chest campaign have a Negro division?

Fourteen, or 53.8 per cent, of the 26 cities reported no separate division for Negroes. Where separate Negro units exist, they differ in name and function from city to city. In several cases, they cover the entire Negro community; in others, they are responsible only for house-to-house or for business and professional solicitations. This variety is explained by the fact that many Negro contributors—for example, school teachers, government employees, and industrial workers — may best be reached along with whites through an overall geographical or occupational division.

One city reported a strong feeling among campaign leaders that, under these circumstances, the returns from a special Negro division did not warrant its continuance. Virtually all of the Southern cities reported that Negroes had requested an integrated campaign organization.

Would an integrated chest campaign work now in your community?

Thirteen out of 25* replied affirmatively, and three more felt that integration would work within the next two or three years. Evidently there was more than one interpretation of the term "integrated," since two cities with Negro divisions replied that their kind of integration was already working. All but two of the cities with Negro divisions reported that their chest boards had given some consideration to the in-

* Eighteen of these responses came from Community Chests, six from local Urban Leagues, and one from a YMCA executive.

tegration of Negro citizens in their overall campaign organizations as a means of getting more and better participation. And it is noteworthy that no respondent felt that an integrated campaign would never work.

Are the names and/or pictures of Negro campaign leaders used in the local press?

All but one of the 52 respondents answered affirmatively.

Are report meetings, rallies, victory dinners, etc., interracial?

Sixteen, or 61.5 per cent, of the responding Southern cities answered yes to this question, and one reported that Negroes are invited to all meetings but do not attend. One respondent commented: "Lack of complete integration makes support only passive; on the other hand, those who attend victory dinner meetings, etc., (unsegregated) give enthusiastically."

Apparently a majority of the cities polled have found a satisfactory answer to the question frequently raised as a barrier to integrated chest campaigns—"Where can we meet and eat together?"

NEGRO REPRESENTATION ON COMMUNITY CHEST AND COUNCIL BOARDS, 26 CITIES, DECEMBER 1954

CITY	COMMUNITY CHEST BOARD			PLANNING COUNCIL		
	YES	NO	No Response	YES	NO	No Response
Atlanta, Ga.		X				X*
Augusta, Ga.	✓			✓		
Baltimore, Md.	✓			✓		
Baton Rouge, La.	✓			✓		
Birmingham, Ala.		X			X	
Charleston, S. C.	✓			✓		
Charlotte, N. C.	✓			✓		
Chattanooga, Tenn.			X			X
Columbus, Ga.		X		✓		
Fort Worth, Tex.	✓			✓		
Jacksonville, Fla.		X		✓		
Little Rock, Ark.		X		✓		
Louisville, Ky.	✓			✓		
Lynchburg, Va.	✓				X	
Nashville, Tenn.	✓			✓		
New Orleans, La.	✓			✓		
Norfolk, Va.	✓				X	
Portsmouth, Va.	✓			✓		
Richmond, Va.	✓			✓		
San Antonio, Tex.		X		✓		
Savannah, Ga.	✓			✓		
St. Louis, Mo.	✓			✓		
Tampa, Fla.		X			X	
Washington, D. C.	✓			✓		
Winston-Salem, N. C.	✓			✓		
Kansas City, Mo.	✓			✓		
TOTALS	18	7	1	20	4	2

*Has no separate council, but has Negroes on executive committee.

A NORFOLK SAMPLING

Public Opinion and the School Decision

EVIDENCE that Southern opinion on desegregation isn't solidly of the "we won't do it" variety is growing daily. One of the latest groups to burst the "solid South" bubble on the subject is The Women's Council for Interracial Cooperation of Norfolk, Virginia. The council's March 1955, news sheet carries an analysis of 132 letters to the editor of the Norfolk *Virginian Pilot*, and the study adds significantly to the proof that Southern opinion is far from being completely against the Supreme Court decision in the school segregation cases.

News Lively

The letters analyzed were printed between May 17, 1954, and October 31, 1954, "a period during which racial news sparked a lively exchange of opinion." Events in the newspaper, as listed by the Women's Council, included "the U. S. Supreme Court's May 17th decision that separation of the races in public schools contradicts the 14th Amendment to the Constitution; declarations of opposition to the decision by Virginia's Governor and State Attorney General; appointment of an all-white, all-Legislator, Governor's Commission 'to hear and study public opinion,' with an admittedly prosegregation chairman; refusal by the Governor and many Virginia officials to attend the 200th anniversary celebration of John Marshall's birth, when Chief Justice Warren was principal speaker; trouble locally when Negroes purchased houses in the previously all-white subdivision of Coronado; opposition stirred up by agitators when the first Negro pupils were admitted to white schools in Delaware."

The *Virginian Pilot* is a white daily with a large circulation in Norfolk and neighboring areas and, in the words of the Women's Council, it "tries to present both sides of controversial subjects on its editorial page."

Of the 132 letters studied, 77 express "a rational, calm attitude toward desegregation and/or a strong disapproval of the public stand of Virginia officials." Thirty-nine of the letters "oppose desegregation and/or applaud state officials," and 16 of the letters do not present a definite stand. "Repeat" writers on both sides of the question place the number at 72 persons "pro" desegregation and 33 "anti." The council reports that many of the letter writers favoring desegregation describe themselves "as to profession, geographical origin, age, experience and race, often stating or implying that they are white." Of the anonymous letters, the percentage is larger among the "antis," the study shows.

Conference

The news sheet reports that a conference with editors of the newspaper revealed that while many letters were cut for lack of space, the basic arguments were kept intact and that no letters were suppressed except a few so "scurrilous or so incoherent that they were considered unfit to print."

Results from the study show that among "anti" desegregation writers there is a wide variation in the degree of opposition to the Supreme Court decision. Opposition ranges from being in favor of abandoning the public school system to declaring that if the final decrees still hold for desegregation then the writer will accept it. On the "pro" desegregation side, specific suggestions are presented such as putting a Negro on the Norfolk School Board "to help in this crucial period" and that Virginia, as a border state, should take the lead in desegregating as peacefully as possible.

Moderate Opinion

In concluding the survey report, the Women's Council declared:

"From this analysis emerges the salient fact that there exists in this area of the South a body of moderate, informed, thoughtful, educated and earnest public opinion which would accept desegregation easily. Extremist opinion is always noisy and people who are against anything shout louder than those who are simply acquiescent.

"In addition to the evidence in the letters studied, there is the almost complete silence of 'writing readers' after the admission of Negro doctors to the Norfolk County Medical Association, the admission of Negro ministers to the Norfolk Ministerial Union, and the desegregating of the annual Norfolk Preaching Mission. These three milestones in race relations were passed with apparent equanimity by the news-reading public.

"It is obvious that nobody has yet found out the whole of public opinion in Virginia. It is time that someone does."

FAULKNER ON SCHOOLS

The following letter published by the Memphis Commercial Appeal *was written by William Faulkner, Mississippi's distinguished novelist and recipient of the Nobel Award.*

Oxford, Miss. — We Mississippians already know that our present schools are not good enough. Our young men and women themselves prove that to us every year by the fact that, when the best of them want the best of education which they are entitled to and are competent for, not only in the humanities but in the professions and crafts — law and medicine and engineering — too, they have to go out of the state to get it. And quite often, too often, they don't come back.

So our present schools are not even good enough for white people; our present state reservoir of education is not of high enough quality to assuage the thirst of even our white young men and women. In which case, how can it possibly assuage the thirst and need of the Negro, who obviously is thirstier, needs it worse, else the Federal Government would not have had to pass a law compelling Mississippi (among others, of course) to make the best of our education available to him.

That is, our present schools are not even good enough for white folks. So what do we do? Make them good enough, improve them to the best possible? No. We beat the bushes, rake and scrape to raise additional taxes to establish another system at best only equal to that one which is already not good enough, which therefore won't be good enough for Negroes either; we will have two identical systems neither of which is good enough for anybody. The question is not how foolish can people get, because apparently there is no limit to that. The question is, how foolish in simple dollars and cents, let alone in wasted men and women, can we afford to be?

— WILLIAM FAULKNER

MEETING THE SCHOOL DECISION

An Editorial From The *Winston-Salem Journal*

IN KILLING off the Satterfield bill which would have denied state funds to any North Carolina school district permitting white and Negro pupils to mix, the House Education Committee was guided by a ruling by Attorney General Harry McMullan. Mr. McMullan told the committee it was quite likely that legislation of this sort would be declared unconstitutional if tested in the courts.

★ ★ ★

This opinion seems entirely logical in the light of the Supreme Court's ruling of May 17, 1954, declaring segregation of the pupils in public schools unconstitutional. The Satterfield measure was in direct conflict with the court decision. It was designed to avoid rather than to provide a feasible method of meeting the court's anti-segregation decision.

It is going to be exceedingly difficult for the local communities and the states of the South to solve the new school problems raised by the court through resort to negative or evasive legislation. Such legislation, as the Attorney General asserts, is quite likely to be held invalid by the federal courts. And legislation tending to create a lack of uniformity in the state school system probably would violate the North Carolina state constitution which requires "a general and uniform system of public schools."

★ ★ ★

Representative Byron Haworth of Guilford raised what was perhaps the most pertinent question during committee consideration of the Satterfield bill. He asked if it was not "time some of us were beginning to think of ways" to integrate the school systems without violence. The courts have outlawed segregation as a compulsory policy and practice. The problem now is one of making a satisfactory adjustment to a new scheme of things in the operation of the public schools. That solution obviously cannot be found in the enactment of state laws directly in conflict with Supreme Court rulings. It can be found only through a positive cooperative approach on the part of school authorities and white and Negro citizens.

★ ★ ★

A positive approach does not mean necessarily a precipitate or premature integration process. It implies a sincere cooperative effort to affect adjustments in the school systems which would come within the meaning of the court decision and at the same time avoid undue social dissension. This end result hardly can be attained by mere resort to state legislation. It can be attained only through wise, positive white and Negro leadership functioning at the community level.

. . . Unquote

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

"There has been quite a bit of publicity recently concerning the organization of a secret group known as the 'Southern Gentlemen's Organization' whose announced purpose is to maintain segregation. . . . Strange it is that they should want their identity to remain secret. Surely they are not ashamed to let the public know who they are! We thought only the communists were organized secretly to defy and overthrow the United States. . . .

"Numerous non-secret groups such as the New Orleans Rabbinical Association, Council of Social Agencies, National Council of Jewish Women, Catholic Committee of the South, Ministerial Associations, New Orleans Catholic Archdiocesan School Board, Southern Regional Council, etc., have commented favorably on complying with the court's decision. Being on the side of law and order . . . they did not feel the need of secrecy. Despite the Southern Gentlemen's claim that they are not Ku Kluxers, not against Negroes and do not believe in any rough stuff, the fact that they are a secret organization gives rise to many unsavory suspicions about the group. . . ." Editorial in the *Louisiana Weekly*.

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"The sad fact is that racial attitudes at home have not always been the best preparation for dealing with 'colored' nations abroad. Take the tragi-comical incident of the street-cars sent by America to South Korea. The gift was hailed with pomp and ceremony, flags flying, goodwill speeches for the unveiling—when suddenly it was found that the streetcars were marked 'for white only' on one entrance, 'for colored only' on the other."—Diana Tead in *The New Leader*.

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"We have been struck by the frequency with which Southern proponents of racial segregation in schools have relied on traditions. . . . Our fathers and grandfathers had separate schools, and our children will have separate schools in the Southern tradition. They won't have, of course. Sooner or later, with or without trouble, one of the South's least admirable traditions will be broken down. Nonsegregated schools are coming and no appeal to the legend-enshrouded old days can prevent it. The inevitable will happen with less difficulty and with greater mutual benefit if Southerners refuse to be 'prisoners of their own inheritance.' "—Editorial in the *Louisville Times*.

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"It is unthinkable that Virginia should consider doing away with public education rather than accept integration. Regardless of how violently we as a people, or as individuals, may have reacted to this decision, the fact remains that our court of last resort has spoken and we must, each and every one of us, give prayerful consideration to determining what is the right and proper thing to do under the circumstances." — Lt. Gov. A. E. Stephens of Virginia.

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